1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate.

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu.

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor.

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1]

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were imbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was opposite the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interesting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

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(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (moteichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (Okii ana in Japanese, boto in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sand-shaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

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In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[6] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

6 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

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Division of the Catch

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The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. [178] [227] [50]

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The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered.

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is ¥3500 with ¥100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus ¥3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

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The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fisherman	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883 (1.5 x 588.78)
Fisherman	4121 (1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412 (0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared.

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year.

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport.

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo.

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera-

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

313 476 [465]

tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was ¥80 per day for each male, and ¥50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared out from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilising fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9] [311]

[637] The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes. [655]

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

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Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds.

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama).

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant.

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils.

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan.

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Hinatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Hinatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

[574] The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [496 577] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Hinatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

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3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [476] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and [805] they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's [286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots 291 for women, is still worn. [537]

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

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484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
521 Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and
814 conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
● 476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended
[C19] family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

621 496 342

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists.

621 496

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance [491] includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help.

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is [731] a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family [614] there. The ties with Itoman are close.

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
342 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[514] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture."

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

h

Village Leadership

565
[127] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
● [476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
[857] event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

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and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
[571] common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

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the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." •

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

• Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

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602 476 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seeking mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his companions through school. As a member of junior high school he will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 185 562 After marriage there are several associations which one may join. Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Association, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 887 623 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Although this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445
the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should
they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually [437]
pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice
as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in trans- 476 •
actions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as [457]
much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas
of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return
the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the
village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return
he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction
of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of
skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463]
tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-
school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [383]
labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group
to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to
the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178]
corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249]
had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now
they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dom-
inant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē.
For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his
relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the
assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be
returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a
dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452]
kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai',
or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They
bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so
that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The sim-
ilarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597]
exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew,
say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should
the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to
the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left
because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid
for the expense of keeping him.

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chúchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
796 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping
761 the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[788] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 536 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[933] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
198 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

• 476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
198 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
198 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
198 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."